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Message Text

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EXDIS FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT ISLAMABAD 6931 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA
KABUL JIDDA LONDON MOSCOW NEW DELHI PARIS TEHRAN PEKING
JULY 17.

QUOTE: S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 6931

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR, MARR, MASS, CENTO, SF, SD, US
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM'S MFA DISCUSSIONS - 16 JULY

1. SUMMARY: DURING TWO-HOUR MEETING AT MFA JULY 16, MINISTER OF
STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGHA SHAHI, IN A MORE THAN USUALLY FEISTY
MOOD, REPEATED FAMILIAR LITANY OF LACK OF US SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN. HE
NOTED THAT IN FACE OF NEW REALITIES, INTERNATIONALLY AND IN THE
REGION, ONLY OPTION THAT NOW SEEMS OPEN TO PAKISTAN IS TO WITHDRAW FR
OM
CENTO. SUCH AN ACT WOULD STRENGTHEN PAKISTAN'S THIRD WORLD CREDENTIAL
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SINCE GOP CANNOT OBTAN A VIABLE DEFENSIVE ESTABLISHMENT FROM THE
WEST, IT MUST DEPEND ON THE DIPLOMATIC, MORAL, AND POLITICAL SUPPORT
OF THE THIRD WORLD TO SURVIVE.

2. SHAHI ADDED THAT WITHDRAWAL FROM CENTO WOULD ALSO "APPEASE" THE
SOVIET UNION AND MAY BUT PAKISTAN SOME TIME. HE QUICKLY NOTED PAKISTA
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WOULD STILL WANT THE CLOSEST AND MOST CORDIAL TIES WITH US; THAT RELATIONSHIP SHOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY PAKISTAN LEAVING CENTO. ALSO, OTHER THAN WITHDRAWAL FROM PACT, PAKISTAN WOULD NOT TAKE ANY OTHER ACTIONS TO "APPEASE" THE USSR. SHAHI WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF IRAN, SOMEWHAT LESS SO OF TURKEY, CLAIMING THAT NEITHER WAS WILLING GENUINELY TO HELP PAKISTAN.

3. UNDER SECRETARY NOTED WE WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE VARIOUS STEPS TO ASSIST PAKISTAN IF REPROCESSING WERE PUT BEHIND US, AND OTHERS IN REGION WOULD ALSO HELP. SHAHI RESPONDED BRUSQUELY THAT IT IS POLITI-CALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO GIVE UP REPROCESSING PLANT. HE IMPLIED THAT EVEN IF
GOP DID DO SO, THE ITEMS WE COULD OFFER, INCLUDING THE F-5E, WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT AND NOT HELP PAKISTAN BUILD A MODERN DEFENSIVE STRUCTURE. END SUMMARY.

4. UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM MET WITH PAKISTAN MFA OFFICIALS JULU 16 FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF US/PAK BILATERAL RELATIONS. UNDER SECRETARY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMB HUMMEL. PAK SIDE LED BY MINISTER OF STATE AGHA SHAHI, ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN SECREATRY SHAHNAWAZ AND ADDITIONAL FOREIGN SECRETARY NAIK.

5. SHAHI OPENED WITH LONG, SOMBER, AND SOBER ANALYSIS OF US/PAK RELA-TIONS FROM THE MID-50S TO TODAY. HE RECITED THE FAMILIAR LITANY OF DECLINING US INTEREST IN SOUTH ASIA, LACK OF US CONCERN ABOUT INDIAN THREATS TO PAKISTANI INTEGRITY, US ARMS EMBARGOES, A RECENT
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ACCELERATION OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE AREA, AND A GLOBAL "LACK OF RESOLVE". BECAUSE OF THIS "RADICAL CHANGE" IN US ATTITUDE, PAKISTA
N
HAS TO RETHINK ITS POLICIES.

6. SHAHI SAID PAKISTAN HAS SEVERAL OPTIONS, EACH OF WHICH HE HAS DISCUSSED SEVERAL TIMES WITH HIS IRANIAN AND TURKISH COUNTERPARTS. THE FIRST IS TO STRENGTHEN PAKISTAN THROUGH CENTO. THIS WOULD MEAN AN EXPLICIT DEFINITION OF GUARANTEES THE US WOULD OFFER IN THE FACE OF SOVIET THREAT BY PROXY THROUGH AFGHANISTAN AND/OR INDIA. IT WOULD NOT MEAN INVOLVEMENT OF US TROOPS, BUT WOUULD INCLUDE ASSURANCES OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

7. THE MINISTER NOTED THAT NEITHER TURKEY NOR IRAN IS ABLE TO OFFER ANY HOPE THAT PAKISTAN COULD BE STRDNGTHENED THROUGH CENTO. ALSO, IT IS GOP BELIEF THAT GIVEN CONRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES, USG IS UNABLE TO HELP PAKISTAN IN THIS MANNER.

8. A SECOND OPTION IS FOR PAKISTAN TO BUILD UP ITS DEFENSIVE CAPABILI
TY
BY TURNING BILATERALLY TO ITS FRIENDS. IRAN SAYS IT CANNOT HELP BECAUSE OF FISCAL STRINGENCIES. TURKEY IS SIMILARLY UNABLE TO HELP.

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SECRETAY VANCE HAS SAID THAT IF REPROCESSING IS NO LONGER AN IMPEDIME
NT,
WE WILL RESUME ECONOMIC AID AND SUPPLY MILIATRY EQUIPMENT. SHAHI
SAID IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT TO BACK OFF ON
THE REPROCESSING ISSUE. EVEN IF IT WERE HYPOTHETICALLY POSSIBLE TO DO
SO,
THE GOP HAS CONCLUDED THAT THE US ARMS SALES POLICY PRECLUDES ANY HOP
E
THAT PAKISTAN CAN OBTAIN, WITH OUR HELP, A MODERN DEFENSIVE CAPABILIT
Y.
CHINESE DO WHAT THEY CAN, BUT THEY HAVE ONLY ALIMITED CAPABILITY.
THEREFORE, SECOND OPTION IS ALSO OUT.

9. SHAHI SAID A THIRD OPTION GROWS OUT OF FACT THAT GOP IS UNDER
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CONTINUOUS AND INTENSE SOVIET PRESSURE. AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA WANT TO
SEE A WEAK PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN DOES NOT HAVE A REAL PLACE IN US POLICY
IN THE REGION, AND EVEN IF THE ADMINISTRATION WANTED TO HELP, IT CANN
OT
RUN THE GAUNTLET OF CONGRESSIONAL OBDURACY. PAKISTAN MUST CONSEQUENTL
Y
CONSIDER ACCEPTING A SITUATION IT CANNOT CHANGE. THE GOP REALIZES
IF IT CANNOT OBTAIN A SUFFICIENT DEFENSIVE VOKBILITY, IT MUST
STRENGTHEN ITS NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS. PAKISTAN MUST DEPEND ON
DIPLOMATIC AND MORAL SUPPORT FROM THE THIRD WORLD IN PLACE OF A VAIBL
E
DEFENSIVE ESTABLISHMENT, SINCE IT IS DENIED THE LATTER. THE KEY TO
THIRD WORLD SUPPORT IS PAKISTAN'S DEPARTURE FROM CENTO.

10. SHAHI ADDED THAT A SECOND PURPOSE SERVED BY LEAVING
CENTO IS THAT IT WOULD BE AN ACT OF "APPEASEMENT" TO THE
SOVIET UNION WHICH MAY BUY THE GOP SOME TIME. THE MINISTER
QUICKLY ADDED THAT GOP WOULD NOT TAKE ANY OTHER STEPS
TO "APPEASE" THE USSR. PAKISTAN HOPES A DECISION TO LEAVE
CENTO WOULD NOT AFFECT BILATERAL US/PAK TIES; PAKISTAN
CONTINUES TO DESIRE THE CLOSEST COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR
TWO COUNTRIES. THMSUS CONNECTION
IS "FUNDAMENTAL AND BASIC"
AND REMAINS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT TO PAKISTAN. THE GOP
DOES NOT WANT TO SEE THAT TIE WEAKENED SINCE THE RELATIONSHIPS WITH
THE PRC AND THE US FORM THE FOUNDATION OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICE.

1. SHAHI SAID THAT HIGH-
LEVEL MISSION TO MOSCOW LATER THIS
MONTH, LET BY SENIOR MINISTER GHULAM ISHAQ, WOULD NOT
RPT NOT DISCUSS PAKISTANI WITHDRAWAL FROM CENTO WITH THE SOVIETS.
MISSION IS AN ECONOMIC ONE, AND ISHAQ WILL ASK
FOR FURTHER SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE STEEL MILL (CHARACTERIZED
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BY SHAHI AS "A LARGE WHITE ELEPHANT, BUT ONE WE CANNOT GET
RID OF"). PAKISTAN IS A PROUD STATE AND WILL NOT BOW TO IMMEDIATE
AND DIRECT SOVIET PRESSURES. TO DISCUSS LEAVING CENTO NOW TITHE THE
USSR WOULD BE READ AS JUST SUCH A CAPITULATION.

12. GOP HAS TOLD IRAN AND TURKEY IT WOULD BE WILLING TO
SIGN BILATERAL MILITARY ALLIANCES WITH BOTH COUNTRIES TO
REPLACE THE CENTO LINK. GOP WOULD MAKE SAME OFFER TO
USG. HOWEVER, PAKISTAN MUST LEAVE CENTO IF IT WANTS TO
BECOME FULL AND BONA FIDE MEMBER OF THIRD WORLD AND GAIN
THE CONSEQUENT DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL SUPPORT.

13. THE UNDER SECRETARY NOTED HE WANTED TO CLARIFY
SEVERAL POINTS. THE SHAH HAD SAID IRAN IS PREPARED TO
HELP PAKISTAN ACQUIRE MILITARY DEFENSIVE EQUIPMENT
FROM THE US OR OTHER SOURCES, ONCE THE REPROCESSING
ISSUE IS BEHIND US. IT IS THEREFORE NOT CORRECT TO
CHARACTERIZE THE IRANIANS AS UNWILLING TO HELP.

14. MORE GENERALLY, IF THE REPROCESSING ISSUE IS OVER-
COME, WE CAN DISCUSS SPECIFIC PROCUREMENT OF MILITARY
ITEMS FROM THE US. POSSIBLY FRANCE MAY ALSO BE PREPARED
TO HELP; IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE
FINANCING FOR THE QUIPMENT. IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC
QUERY, THE UNDER SECRETARY NOTED WE WOULD AGREE TO SELL
PAKISTAN F-5E OR EQUIVALENT INTERCEPTOR AIRCRAFT,
HOWITZERS, AND OTHER EQUIPMENT. SHAHI RESPONDED THAT
PAKISTAN IS AWARE THE US WOULD PROBABLY SELL THE F-5E
AND HAD BEEN TOLD SO EVEN BEFORE THE GLENN AMEMNDMENT
CAME INTO EFFECT. SO THIS DOES NOT REPRESENT A REAL
STEP FOPQARD; IN FACT.. SINCE THE US IS STILL UNWILLING
TO SELL THE AAUN IT CAN EVEN BE TERMED RETROGRESSIVE.

15. THE UNDER SECRETARY NOTED THAT WE APPRECIATE THE
DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN CANELLATION
OF THE REPROCESSING CONTRACT. HOWEVER, A FORMAL RENUN-

CIATION IS NOT REQUIRED. WHAT WE NEED IS A STATEMENT THAT
THE PROJECT HAS BEEN SUSPENDED. SHAHI CONFINED
HIMSELF TO REITERATING THE POLITICAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF SUCH AN ACT.
16. IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY WHAT GOP WOULD GAIN BY MOVING CLOSER
TO USSR, SHAHI RESPONDED THAT PAKISTAN WOULD MOVE CLOSER TO THIRD
WROLD, NOT THE USSR, BY LEAVING CENTO. CENTO DOES NOT OFFER ANY
SEUCIRITY. THE US CANNOT OFFER SECURITY. "WE ARE IN DESPAIR OVER

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THE US. YOU CANNOT EVEN GIVE US SUFFIFIENT HELP TO OPPOSE A SOVIE SURROGATE".

17. UNDER SECRETARY ASKED IF APPEASEMENT OF SOVIET UNION MEANS GETTING USSR TO ACCEPT DURAND LINE. SHAHI ANSWERED THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW. HOWEVER, GOP BELIEVES THAT IF YOU HAVE A SUPERPOWER ON YOUR BORDER,IT PROBABLY WILL NOT TOLERATE YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN A PACT DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY AGAINST IT.

18. THE UNDER SECRETARY CLOSED BY NOTING THE DANGERS OF FALLING PREY TO THE MYTH OF SOVIET OMNIPOTENCE. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE MADE GAINS, THEY HAVE SUFFERED REVERSALS ELSE-WHERE. OUR RESOLVE AND WILLINGNESS TO HELP REMAIN STRONG, JUST AS OUR CONCERN FOR AND DEEP INTEREST IN THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF THE REGION AND PAKISTAN REMAIN UNDILUTED. HUMMEL UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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